

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7437

INFO NAM COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 5596

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG

SUBJECT: BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

SUMMARY: THE YUGOSLAVS AT BELGRADE GENERALLY MANAGED TO PRE-SERVE THEIR KEY THEMES OF UNITY AND "TRUE" NON-ALIGNMENT THROUGH TO THE FINAL DECLARATION. FOR THE LONG RUN, HOWEVER, BOTH THE BASIC IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS IN THE NAM AND A COLLECTION OF REGIONAL QUARRELS CLEARLY PERSIST. THE MOST EFFECTIVE PROTECTION FOR THE MOVEMENT AGAINST THREATS TO ITS UNITY AND DIRECTION LIES--AS DEMONSTRATED AT BELGRADE--IN AROUSED AND ACTIVE CONCERN BY "MODERATES" IN THE MOVEMENT. ON THE OTHER ISSUES, MINISTERS APPROVED AN EXTREMELY HARSH TEXT ON THE MIDDLE EAST, ENDORSED THE LINK BETWEEN ZIONISM AND RACISM, AND ACCEPTED LANGUAGE OFFENSIVE TO US ON PUERTO RICO. EMBASSY WILL PROVIDE SEPTELS OUR COMENTS ON KEY PORTIONS OF THE DECLARATION AS WELL AS AN ASSESSMENT OF THE OUTCOME FROM THE YUGOSLAV PERSPECTIVE. END SUMMARY.

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1. THE FOLLOWING IS A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF THE BELGRADE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS. IT REFLECTS NEITHER AN EXHAUSTIVE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FINAL DECLARATION NOR A POST-CONFERENCE ASSESSMENT BY THE YUGOSLAV HOSTS.

2. IDEOLOGY. KEYING OFF PRESIDENT TITO'S OPENING

SPEECH, THE BBELGRADE CONFERENCE FOCUSED FOR SIX DAYS ON THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF NAM DEFINITION AND DIRECTION. IN THIS REGARD, BELGRADE MUST BE VIEWED AS A TACTICAL SUCCESS FOR THE YUGOSLAVS. CONCERNED OVER RECENT DIVISIONS IN THE MOVEMENT AND OVER CUBAN ACTIVISM IN AFRICA AND THE NAM, THE YUGOSLAVS INTENDED THE CONFERENCE AS A CONSOLIDATION EXERCISE FOR THE MOVEMENT, EMPHASIZING THE UNIFYING OVER THE DIVISIVE ELEMENTS, DUSTING OFF THE NAM LEGACY OF PRINCIPLES OF "TRUE NON-ALIGNMENT" (I. E. NOT PRO-SOCIALIST), OPPOSING INTERFERENCE IN NAM STATES AND ACTIVATING "MODERATE" ELEMENTS AS A CHECK TO INDEFATIGABLE CUBAN DESIGNS TO COERCE THE NAM IN DIRECTIONS CONSONANT WITH CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES.

3. FOR THE CONFERENCE, THE YUGOSLAVS SUCCEEDED. SPEAKER AFTER SPEAKER ECHOED TITO'S OPENING CALL FOR UNITY. DIVISIVE BATTLES OVER REGIONAL ISSUES WERE LARGELY AVOIDED (AT THE COST OF AN EXTREMELY HARSH CONFERENCE STATEMENT ON THE MIDDLE EAST). POLEMICS AROSE PRINCIPALLY IN THE CONTEXT OF CUBA'S PROSPECTIVE CHAIRMANSHP OF THE MOVEMENT, WITH EGYPT, ZAIRE, MOROCCO, AND SOMALIA LEADING THE ANTI-CUBAN CHARGE. THE POLEMICS WERE CONTAINED, BUT BY THE CLOSING THE UNIFYING THEME WAS BADLY TATTERED AND MIGHT NOT HAVE SURVIVED HAD THE CONFERENCE BEEN FURTHER EXTENDED. THE AMBIGUOUS LANGUAGE ON NON-INTERFERENCE ADOPTED GAVE SOMETHING TO EVERY-
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BODY. IN GENERAL, THE YUGOSLAV EMPHASIS ON THE "NON-BLOC" CHARACTER OF THE NAM SURVIVED INTACT. IN SHORT, THE YUGOSLAVS, WITH MUY STRONG SUPPORT FOR INDIA, SRI LANKA AND OTHERS, JUST MANAGED TO KEEP THE LID ON AT BELGRADE AND GAVE UP LITTLE GROUND IN THE FINAL DECLARATION IN THEIR BASIC REAFFIRMATION OF NON-ALIGNMENT AS A FORCE OPPOSED TO AFFILIATION WITH EITHER BLOC.

4. OTHER ISSUES: FROM THE NAM (AND MORE CERTAINLY THE YUGOSLAVS) PERSPECTIVE, REGIONAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES AT BELGRADE WERE DISTINCTLY SECONDARY TO THE IDEOLOGICAL TUSSELE OVER DEFINING THE CHARACTER AND DIRECTION OF THE MOVEMENT. FROM THE U. S. POINT OF VIEW, HOWEVER, BY FAR THE MOST DAMAGING OF THE REGIONAL ISSUES WAS AN EXTREMELY HARSH SECTION ON THE MIDDLE EAST, REPEATEDLY CASTIGATING THE U. S. BY NAME (BUT NOT SADAT) AND FIRMLY IMPLANTING THE LINKAGE OF ZIONISM WITH RACISM. THE LANGUAGE ON PUERTO RICO WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE U. S. THE LANGUAGE ON KOREA WAS RELATIVELY MODERATE, AS THE NORTH KOREANS SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE RESERVATIONS. TREATMENT OF OTHER REGIONAL SECTIONS EMERGED MORE OR LESS STANDARD FOR THE NAM. TUNISIAN/YUGOSLAV MODERATION ON

INFORMATION ISSUES SURVIVED. THE ECONOMIC SECTION WAS A ROUGH
CALL FOR PROGRESS ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC ORDER (NIEO) BUT AVOIDED POLEMICS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 5596

5. THE LONG RUN. IN THE LONGER VIEW, HOWEVER, BELGRADE
WAS AT BEST A PALLIATIVE FOR AN IDEOLOGICAL
CONFLICT WITHIN THE NAM WHICH WILL CONTINUE. THE CUBANS AT
BELGRADE, CONCEDED THE HOME FIELD ADVANTAGE AND
MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO QUIET FEARS AND BUILD BROADER
SUPPORT FOR THEIR FORTH-COMING ROLE AS NAM CHAIRMAN
(IN 1979), COULD HAVE PRESSED SOME ISSUES HARDER. THEY
DID, HOWEVER, ATTACK THE YUGOSLAV FORMULATIONS WHERE
THEY COULD AND FORCEFULLY RETURNED THE FIRE FROM THOSE
ATTACKING THE CUBAN ROLE IN THE NAM. NOR HAS THEIR
CONVICTION DAMPENED ONE IOTA THAT CUBA, AS A REPOSITORY
OF TRUE REVOLUTIONARY VALUES, MUST CONTINUE TO TRY TO BEND
THE NAM TOWARD ITS "NATURAL ALLIES" IN THE SOCIALIST
CAMP. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE "MODERATE" LEADERSHIP OF
YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA AND SRI LANKA QUIETLY BUT EFFECTIVELY
DEFENDED THEIR POSITIONS AT THE CONFERENCE AND WILL
CONTINUE TO DO SO. BELGRADE ALSO SAW A CAST OF OTHER
"MODERATES" ACTIVELY ENGAGED. EGYPT, ZAIRE, SOMALIA,
MOROCCO, SENEGAL AND KUWAIT WERE PERHAPS MOST VOCAL,
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BUT A NUMBER OF STATES (LIKE TOGO, NIGER, GABON AND IVORY COAST) STOOD UP IN THE "MODERATE" RANKS AND WERE COUNTED, SOME OF THEM FOR THE FIRST TIME.

6. WHERE WILL THIS IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT LEAD? MOST IMMEDIATELY IT LEADS TO THE HAVANA NAM SUMMIT IN 1979. THE BELGRADE DECLARATION REAFFIRMED BASIC PRINCIPLES OF NON-ALIGNMENT WHICH WILL (IN AN UNSTRUCTURED MOVEMENT WHERE PRECEDENT IS KEY) HAVE SOME VALUE AS A CHECK ON CUBAN DESIGNS. BUT BELGRADE FAILED TO EVEN RECOMMEND ANY INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS (DEFINING THE NATURE OF A NAM "CONSENSUS", RESTRICTING THE POWERS OF THE CHAIRMAN, REORGANIZING THE COORDINATING BUREAU (STEERING GROUP) WHICH WOULD ALSO HAVE ACTED AS A HEDGE ON CUBAN ACTIVISM. THE BEST THE "MODERATES" COULD DO WAS INSIST THAT THE COORDINATING BUREAU, AS IT PREPARED THE HAVANA CONFERENCE, REMAIN OPEN TO THE VIEWS OF ALL NAM STATES.

7. IN TRUTH THE ONLY PROTECTION FOR A CONTINUATION OF "TRUE" NON-ALIGNMENT IN THE NAM IS IN THE MOVEMENT ITSELF--IN THE INTEREST, DEDICATION AND ACTIVISM OF ITS MEMBERS. MANY "MODERATES" IN THE NAM POINT TO 17 YEARS OF NAM PRECEDENT AND TO THE VERY SIZE AND DIVERSITY OF THE NAM AS ADEQUATE CHECKS AGAINST ANY ONE COUNTRY PULLING THE MOVEMENT OFF ITS CENTRAL COURSE. PERHAPS, BUT BELGRADE SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT THE SUREST PROTECTION IS AN AROUSED AND INFORMED INTEREST IN NAM STATES THEMSELVES IN THE SURVIVAL OF THE BASIC "ANTI-BLOC" PRINCIPLES UPON WHICH THE MOVEMENT WAS FOUNDED.
EAGLEBURGER

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